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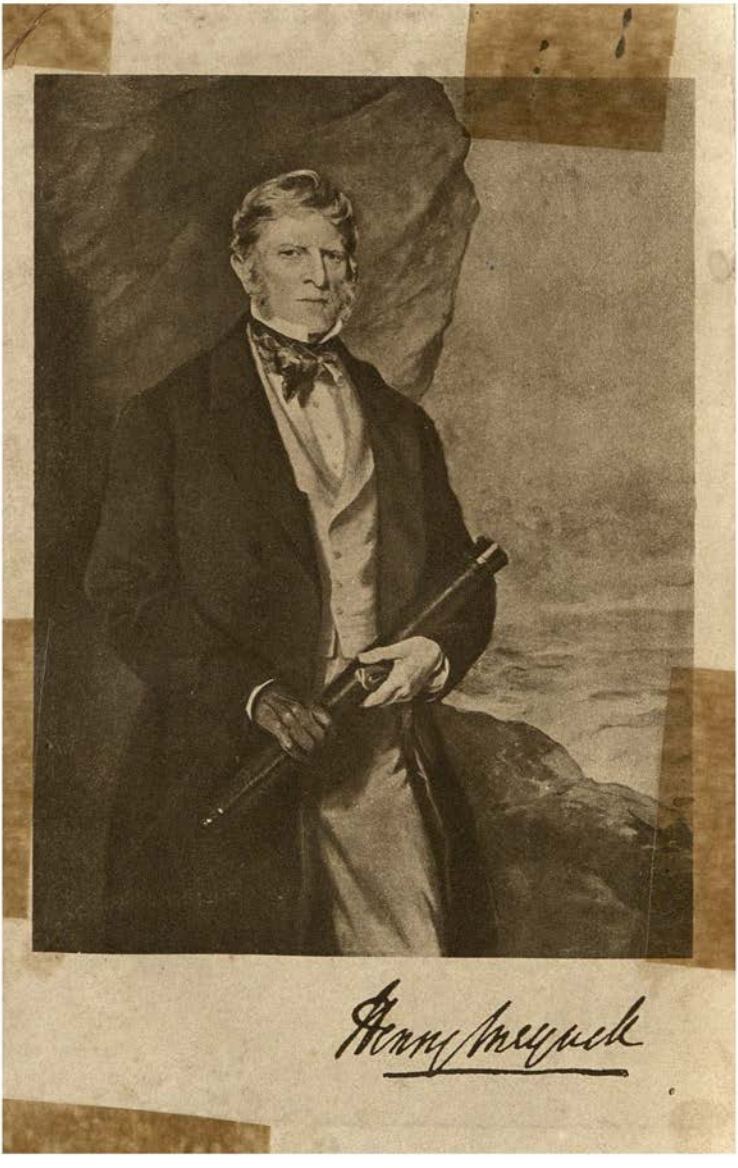
# CONVERSATIONS WITH NAPOLEON


Henry Shryock

# CONVERSATIONS WITH NAPOLEON AT ST. HELENA

BY

HENRY MEYNELL

(H.M.S. NEWCASTLE)

23328

LONDON

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1911

## CAPTAIN H. MEYNELL, R.N.

THE Register of Quorn Church gives August 24, 1789, as the date of baptism of Henry Meynell, the 2nd Son of Hugo Meynell of Hoar Cross, Co. Stafford, by the Honble. Elizabeth Ingram, 3rd Daughter and Co-heiress of Charles 9th Viscount Irwin, of Temple Newsam, Yorkshire.

Henry Meynell entered the Royal Navy in June, 1803, and was actively employed during the first seven years of his Service on the Mediterranean and Home Stations. He afterwards sailed as Lieut. of the Theban with a convoy for the East Indies and China.

He was next appointed acting Commander of the Arrogant at Bombay in 1813, and in August of the same year was promoted to be Commander of the Cornwallis.

In 1815 he became acting Captain, and in 1816 he was confirmed in the rank of Captain while serving in the Newcastle, the Flagship of Rear-Admiral Sir Pulteney Malcolm, who was Commander-in-Chief at St. Helena Station, specially appointed to enforce a rigid blockade

of the Island, and to keep a close guard on Buonaparte.

His Commissions in the Royal Navy bore date as follows:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Lieut. . . | 8 Nov. | 1809. |
| Commander . . . . | 24 Aug. | 1813. |
| Captain . . . . . | 10 April | 1816. |
| Rear-Admiral (reserved list) | 29 April | 1851. |
| Vice-Admiral . . . | 9 July | 1857. |
| Admiral . . . . | 4 October | 1862. |

Captain Meynell represented the Borough of Lisburn in Parliament from 1826 to 1847. He was appointed Gentleman Usher to Geo. IV. in the early part of 1820 and held a similar appointment for a short time under William IV., and for some years, up to April 1845, was a Groom-in-Waiting to her late Majesty Queen Victoria.

Admiral Meynell died unmarried in Paris, March 25, 1865.

# A NOTE

SIR PULTENEY MALCOLM while on the St. Helena Station had frequent interviews with Napoleon, and his notes of the conversations which took place on these occasions were published in 1899, under the title of *A Diary of St. Helena*, 1816-1817, by Lady Malcolm.

In these visits Captain Meynell often accompanied his Admiral, took part in the conversations, and evidently kept a careful record of what passed in his presence and hearing. In these circumstances his Memorandum necessarily contains much that was already anticipated in the Diary, so that those who are acquainted with the earlier publication will feel that the two narratives cover, to a considerable extent, the same ground. Nevertheless, Captain Meynell's recollections undoubtedly contain fresh matter in addition to what is related by Sir P. Malcolm; they supplement and confirm the account given in the Diary, while there is often sufficient variety in the two versions of the same conversation, in the particular language used by Napoleon, and in the different

impressions left by these interviews upon the two officers, by what he said, by his manner and personality, to give value and importance to Captain Meynell's independent recollections. For these reasons, and having regard to the peculiar interest which attaches to the subject, it has been considered that Captain Meynell's Memorandum, which has been recently found among some family papers, is worth preservation, and it has accordingly been printed in the present form.

# MEMORANDA

BY

# CAPTAIN HENRY MEYNELL,

*H.M.S. 'NEWCASTLE,' ST. HELENA.*

THIS morning (June 20th, 1816) Captain Cochrane, Mr. Irving and myself accompanied the Admiral, who with the Governor and his Staff went to Longwood, for the purpose of the Admiral's being introduced to Buonaparte on his first arrival at St. Helena. When we arrived we were shown into a Room, in which we found Generals Montholon and Gourgaud, after remaining a short time, the Admiral and Governor were ushered into the next Apartment by Count Bertrand, where they were received by Napoleon who had also the Count Las Cases with him. They remained together about a Quarter of an hour, the Door was then opened, the rest of the party went in, and were separately introduced to Buonaparte, after the usual Salutation to those of the Governor's Staff whom he knew,

He turned to Colonel Wynyard (whom he observed to be wounded) and asked where he got the wound, on being told Santa Maura. Ah, said he, par Les Brigands, cela ne vaut pas La peine, he then asked after Mrs. W. and looking at Captain Cochrane, and myself asked if we were not Capitaines de Frégates. After which, a few general observations were made on the Wr., &c. when we all made our Bows and retired. In his Appearance He struck me as resembling a Picture painted by Robert Lefevbre only considerably stouter. His face remarkably Pale, a very thick neck, & Broad Shoulders, a well made Leg and Foot, in Height about 5 feet 5 inches (it was remarked by Ldy. M. a few days afterwards that he had also a very Handsome Hand). In his dress he was not particularly neat, He wore a single breasted Green Coat, or Habit de Chasse with a velvet Collar and Silver Buttons, having the figures of different animals on them. He had on the Star of the Legion of Honour, White Breeches, Silk Stockings, and Shoes, with Gold Oval Buckles. He kept his Cocked Hat under his left arm, with that hand generally in his Pocket, the other was occupied with a Snuff Box out of which he took a good

deal of Snuff. His figure though fine is certainly not graceful. He spoke quick, and I thought his French difficult to understand. His countenance was pleasant, and he seemed in good humour. He is irregular in his meals, but generally breakfasts at 11, and dines at eight. He Remains in His Apartments until 4 in the afternoon, when he walks or drives out until sunset. Bertrand has since informed me that he often gets up in the middle of the Night and writes, or reads for an hour or two, having contracted that habit at an early period when Commanding his Armies.

The Admiral went up to Longwood this day (June 25th, 1816) with Ldy. M. On the Road they stopped at Count Bertrand's House, Hut's Gate, to pay a visit to Madame B., they found there Bonaparte's Carriage with 6 horses, which on hearing she was coming to see him, he had sent for her, and Madame B. who accompanied Lady M. in the Carriage, 2 French Postillions drove it at a gallop along a narrow road bounded on one side by a Precipice called the Devil's Punch Bowl, and on entering the Gate of Longwood they nearly overturned it. On their arrival B. received Lady M. most graciously; asked her several questions;

How she bore so long a sea voyage; and if she was not very sea sick? He then asked her if she was fond of hunting, as he understood that Ladies in England were partial to that amusement. He talked to her much about Ossian's Poems, which he had always admired, Lady M. remarked that they had been very generally admired on the Continent, as they had been translated into all languages. Ah, said he, it was I that brought them into Fashion on the Continent, I have even been accused of having my head filled with Ossian's Clouds. He mentioned some names in it which resembled the Italian (viz.) D'Arthulla and Comalla two poems he particularly admired. He said he had seen two translations of them in French, that neither were good, but that the one he had seen in Italian, was excellent and beautiful. He then asked Lady M. if she thought them genuine, that there had been many controversies about them, and whether she did not think that Macpherson had written them. Lady M. replied, That she did not think Macpherson capable of writing them, that the Highland Society had taken much pains to investigate it, and proved their authenticity.

The Admiral this time (July 4th, 1816)

took with him the Officers of the Newcastle previous to their being introduced to Bonaparte. He saw the Admiral alone for about two hours when the Officers were introduced, and they took leave. He does not appear to have made up his mind to remaining at St. Helena all his life. He asked the Admiral, If he thought he would be kept here for ever. The A. replied, Yes, and endeavoured to persuade him to be contented. B. said we ought to have confined him in England, he would have liked it much better, He could have taken exercise on the top of a prison, and he would then have had access to all the books requisite for writing His History. Why send him to such a vile island as this. He said he should be dead in three years. The Admiral remarked that he hoped not, that it would take him that time to finish his history. He smiled at this, and talked of something else. The Admiral thought he bore contradiction better than he expected, provided you differ from him in a Mild Manner. In speaking of the Commissioners from the Allied Powers now at St. Helena, He observed, How can I receive them!! It would be acknowledging I am a Prisoner to their Masters; What could I say to the Austrian

(the Baron de Sturmer) who comes without a kind word, or even a line from my Father-in-law, to say my son His Grandson is well; and what to the Russian (Count Balmain) whose Master has been at my feet and has so often called me his best friend, I have volumes of their letters, which would shew, what they owed to me. In saying this he became animated & His Countenance put on a severe look. (The Admiral here remarked that he hoped he would one of these days publish them to the world). He then continued, as to the Frenchman (The Marquis de Montchenu) I am less embarassed with him, *Louis owes me nothing.* He spoke of Lord Nelson, He said he had heard Lord Nelson's mode of attack at Trafalgar criticised.* The Admiral said, not by Judges, that it was impossible to form any regular plan of attack so near the shore, that had the two fleets met in the open sea, & been of equal force, that Lord Nelson's method would have been different, that he (the Adl.) thought Ld. Nelson the greatest Naval Character that had ever appeared.

* Admiral Villeneuve destroyed himself at Rouen, where he had been ordered to remain until a Court Martial had assembled. He was a brave man though not possessed of talent.

In this B. fully concurred, and remarked that the French seamen were certainly not so good as ours, that they had never done anything very Brilliant at sea, but that they had on many occasions defended their flag with honour to themselves.

Toulon Fleet, he said, he had given the Command of it to Admiral Allemand, as he was a rough, strict officer, that he knew he would make every person do his duty, that for the last 3 Years he had kept everybody on board that he would not give them permission to go on shore. That he had ordered Allemand to stand out towards the English Fleet every day and manœuvre but not to risk an action, their awkwardness at first caused great expense, but latterly they became more expert.

The Adl. asked him why he did not attack the right of the English line, at the Battle of Waterloo, where it was weakest. He replied, a General always calculates on the Characters of the Officers opposed to him. I knew Wellington was an Officer of Method, and never moved his Army without having his arrangements complete.

The other, Blucher, I knew was a perfect Hussard, and if I had attacked the English First, I should have had him on

me at full Gallop. Grouchy followed up his Victory over the Prussians too far, I thought I should have had time to have beat them, but Grouchy was unable to keep the remainder in Check as I had ordered him, and my Guards charging too soon, this caused the loss of the Battle of Waterloo.

He spoke of the Bourbons, That when Louis returned to France he ought to have considered himself as the Beginner of the Fifth dynasty, that he ought to have said to the People, You have had a great revolution during which great atrocities have been committed, France has done great things, you chose an Emperor who increased and raised the Glory of France. Great changes have induced you to recall my family to the Throne, I will forget all that is past, and commence a new dynasty. He then said that the Bourbons were insecurely seated on the Throne that they sat on a Smothered Volcano.

July 25th, 1816.—The Admiral went up alone to Longwood, and took up some French Papers, which had just arrived by the Griffin from England. B. asked the Admiral if the Papers contained any news? The Adl. replied that they mentioned the prorogation of the Chambers, and the condemnation of Bertrand. The Adl. said the cause assigned

for Proroguing them, was the fear that they would not grant so much as forty-six millions to the Clergy. No replied B., I do not see how they could, I had much trouble in getting them twelve millions of Francs. The French are not a religious nation.

He observed that the condemnation of Bertrand was useless as, by the laws of France, it could never be put in execution, without a fresh trial; he thought the French Government would have acted more wisely (If they wanted examples) to have fixed on many others not so immediately about his person, and that if they had wished to establish themselves, they ought at first to have proceeded with more vigour, and decision, that the Prisons were now full. Of the disturbance at Grenoble mentioned in the same Papers, He remarked that those sort of petty insurrections only added strength to the Government.

*Lady M. rode up with the Admiral this morning (August 10th, 1816), as they came opposite the stables, they met B. in his carriage driving out with Madame Montholon. On observing them he stepped out, and asked Lady M., Laughing, If she would take a drive round the Park.

He then handed her in, got in himself,

and called to Madame Montholon, and the Admiral to follow, They drove at full gallop, about a mile in extent round a dreary ridge that forms Fisher's Valley. On coming to one very dismal spot, He asked Lady M., If that was like Ossian's Country. As they approached the Garden on their return, He observed to Lady M., Are you fond of Gardening or of Flowers? Voila un Jardin, said he, pointing to a brown border without the least sign of vegetation. When they got up to the House B. remarked that it was late, and they took leave.

The conversation this time was but short. He asked Lady M., If she knew Lord Kinnaird, & where he was. He asked also, how many Scottish Peers were Peers of Parliament, which she not being able to answer, he appeared a little out of humour, but on her explaining the Mode of Electing the 16 Peers, and that many Scottish Peers were English Peers, he seemed satisfied.

August 1st, 1816.—Went with Captain Festing and Murray, of Falmouth and Griffin, to pay a visit to Napoleon, whom they had not yet seen. B. was in the Billiard Room where we were introduced to him by Bertrand, who said, To His Majesty the Emperor. He began the conversation, by asking Captain

Festing what vessel he commanded, whether she was a Ship or a Brig. Captain F. replied, a Corvette. How long from England, whether she had not been at Gibraltar, and the Mediterranean, and If he was not going to the Pacific Ocean.* Captain Festing answered, That he did not know, but that he was going to the Cape of Good Hope. Upon Captain F. saying he did not know, He gave Bertrand a look, which betrayed considerable ferocity, and conveyed the Best possible Idea of his quick transition of Countenance. He then again repeated the Question, and did not appear to credit, that Captain F. was going to the Cape. Bertrand then took notice of my being in some surprise, (or rather at a smile which I believe was on my Countenance) partly

* Note.—Captain Feasting was about to sail with secret Orders, to take possession of the Island of Tristan d'Acunha previous to going to the Cape. Some erroneous Reports that had reached B. on this subject had probably induced him to put the question about the South Seas. Captain Festing's Orders being secret, of course he could only say he was going to the Cape, which he was to do after taking possession of the Island.

Bertrand told me on our quitting the room that B. was displeased at having no Apartment to receive us in, & that had he not supposed that Festing would not return, he would not have seen him. The room he generally received company in was then under repair from a fire that had lately taken place there.

created by B. persevering in supposing Captain F. going to the South Seas, and partly by Bertrand's appearance after *Nap's Look*. B. then continued, are there not many Islands in the Pacific Ocean? Is the Coast of New Holland well known? Are there any dangers off it? He then turned to me, and asked what Brig I commanded, and to Captain Murray, what Country he came from. He then Bowed, turned his back, and walked away evidently in Ill humour. The sky was a little clouded, passing by the window, he shrugged up his shoulders & remarked, It was a miserable Climate.

The Admiral rode up to Longwood alone this afternoon (August 16th, 1816). He found Napn. engaged looking at an Ice Machine lately sent out to him & Invented by Professor Leslie. He much admired the construction of it, and said that He wondered it had not been invented before, the Process was so simple. A Thermometer was placed in one of the freezing cups. B. tried to take it out & in the attempt broke it, on which he exclaimed, Ah, this is worthy of me. He then observed that there were more Chymists in France than in England, and that the study was more general. The

Adl. asked him If he had heard of Sir Humphry Davy. He replied he had seen him at Paris. He then proposed to the Adl. a walk in the Garden, which they accordingly did. He resorted to His favourite Topic Egypt. He asked, How much a Ship of the Line could be Lightened to, so as to take her over a Shoal into a Harbour. He said, Had Admiral Bruix taken my Advice, he would have saved his Fleet, by getting it into Alexandria. That Captain Barré had sounded, and reported that there was sufficient water to admit the Fleet, but that Admiral Bruix was of a different opinion.* The Admiral remarked that Barré had fought a gallant action in the Rivoli, and was considered by us a Good Officer. Yes, said he, But he has not met with the reward he merited. One of your Brigs assisted in taking him. I ordered the Rivoli to be built in the Gulph of Venice, in a place where there was so little water, that she was obliged to be floated over the shoals, on *Camels* similar to those used by the Dutch, but improved

* B. in the meantime advanced into the Interior with the Army, all communication with the Fleet by Messengers was cut off by the Bedouin Arabs, who intercepted and murdered them, otherwise He would have ordered them to Alexandria.

upon by my Engineers. He then asked what was the Best mode of Arming a Ship of the Line, and whether it was best to aim at the Hull or Rigging. He said that he had proposed arming a three Deck Ship entirely with 32 Pounders, of different Lengths, but that his Engineers objected to it.

The Adml. said, that he did also, because it frequently happened that the Lower deck Ports could not be opened, and then the long 24 Pounders would have an advantage over the short thirty twos. He asked what nations had abolished the Slave trade, and said that we ought to have obliged the Portuguese to have relinquish it entirely. The Admiral explained, that it would be so in few years & that now they were not permitted to trade to the Northward of the Equator, that all vessels found there were seized.

B. asked what we did with the slaves. The Adl. answered that we landed them at Sierra Leone, where they were provided for and Implements of Husbandry were given to them, &c. He said that was Good, very Good, that in time, Africa, by their spreading into the Interior, might become civilized. There was an iron tank

at Longwood, taken out of one of the ships, He asked, How long they had been in use in the Navy. He thought it an excellent invention and wondered he had not before heard of it.

The Admiral went up to Longwood alone this day (September 21st, 1816), being the one before our sailing to the Cape, to take leave of Buonaparte. This was the first visit, after the dispute B. had with the Governor. He avoided making any sort of Complaint to the Adl. and merely talked on General subjects, on the Passage to the Cape, &c.

He spoke of the Dutch Nation, that they had become a more simple and idle People, than any other in Europe, that they had no Navy until he taught them to build ships at Antwerp. He said it was his intention to have made an Arsenal at Cuxhaven.

He mentioned the Russian, and German Soldiers, that the former were the bravest men, that the latter were not good troops.

The Admiral asked his opinion of the Cossacks. He said that they were the most enterprising Men he knew, that they would pass through a Country that they had never before seen, in the most extraordinary manner; but that they were not formidable

in Bodies, nor fit to contend with an Army, that he had not seen one of them at the Battle of Borodino, but that they afterwards annoyed him much, that they were accustomed to such warfare, and [had] been brought up to it from their Infancy.

We arrived from the Cape on the 23rd, and this day (November 25th, 1816) I accompanied the Admiral to Longwood, His first visit after our return. On the road we visited Betrand and Madame B. and on our arrival there we also visited Montholon, Madame M. and Gourgaud, & conversed with them about half an hour on general subjects (in which they appeared pleased at the Admiral's return) until B. sent to say he was ready to see the Admiral.

We then went to the Billiard Room, and as on the former occasion, the Admiral went first to him, with Bertrand, and stopped about half an hour, leaving me with Montholon and Gourgaud. I was then called in, and after recognising me, He began by asking me, If I had been sick during the voyage (I was then not very well), upon my saying No, He then asked me If I was married. I answered No. And the Admiral observed that I was young enough. B. next asked

my age. The Admiral then added, laughing, that sailors ought not to marry too soon, as they were often absent a long time from their wives. B. was silent a short time and then said Yes! I believe you are right, Les femmes Quelquefois font des sottises. He then asked me, If the Newcastle was not an uneasy ship, and turning to the Admiral asked if I was not Capitaine de Pavillon. He remained silent a few Minutes, we then Bowed, wished him good Morning, and withdrew. I thought B. this day appeared more sallow, and rather thinner.

He was dressed in a plain Green Coat, double breasted with a Fall down Collar, and a handsome Star of the Legion of Honour. He began the Conversation with the Admiral with asking him, how he was, and how Lady M. had borne the voyage, whether during the Passage to the Cape we had not experienced much Bad Weather, and a few other Questions on that subject. He then asked about the establishment at Tristan d'Acunha (lately taken possession of) what sort of an Island it was, and If it would be a good place for ships to stop at. He then spoke of the Expedition mentioned in the News-

papers, as fitting out against the Algerines. The extensive manner in which we were undertaking it He disapproved of. He thought a Man of Lord Exmouth's Rank and Character, ought not to have been sent. He said we ought merely to have blockaded the Port, and that when the Algerines found they were prevented carrying on their trade, they would have cut each others' throats. He repeated the story of the Dey, who on being told that Louis the Fourteenth was fitting out an expedition against Algiers, said that, If he would send him half the Money the Expedition would cost, He, the Dey, would himself burn the Town. B. then added, that If we succeeded we should gain great credit in the Mediterranean, but that if we failed, it would make the Algerines more Impudent.

On our return, we called at Madame Bertrand's, they had moved into their new House within the Grounds of Longwood, which appears tolerably comfortable & well furnished. She remarked to me that it seemed to her as if she had lived all her life in a village, and was now removed to a Palace, the difference of the two Habitations was so great (this was com-

paring it with the House we had left her in). She asked us several questions; How we thought Buonaparte looked, &c., & spoke much of her wish to leave the Island, which she seemed most anxious to do. Amongst other things, she observed that B. never allowed waltzing at Court, and that he highly disapproved of it. Madame B., I think is an agreeable interesting woman, speaks English perfectly. Bertrand seems a good natured Man, always in low Spirits, & does not appear to possess that strength of Mind, which from his attachment to Napoleon one might suppose him to have. They have 4 children, one an Infant just born, the other three, two Boys & a Girl are very pretty and nice Children with excellent manners. Both Bertrand & Madame B. seem much attached to them. Montholon is a good looking little man, but I do not think him or Madame agreeable. He has the Character of being a great Lyar. Gourgaud seems clever, and has more conversation than any of them, but I believe is occasionally a great Boaster.

Montholon told me this day, that the Tent which the Newcastle's Men had put up, was the greatest agrément possible, and the place of all others that B. most enjoyed

himself in when the weather was fine. On our Quitting Bertrand's House we met at the Door the Governor, with all his staff, who with Sir G. Bingham were just arrived for the purpose of Arresting Comte Las Cases, for an attempt which he had made to send a letter to England, concealed in the lining of a Waistcoat, belonging to a young Islander who had been his Servant. The Father of whom, having discovered it, gave information. Comte Las Cases was accordingly arrested, All his Papers seized, and himself conveyed that Evening to Ross Cottage belonging to Mr. Balcombe, a Guard was placed over him, and he remained a Prisoner there until a few days previous to his Embarkation in the Griffin, Sloop of War, for the Cape.

In the course of conversation this day with Montholon and Gourgaud, Piontouski the Pole was mentioned. He had arrived at the Cape previous to the Newcastle's quitting it. They both called him an adventurer, and said that Bonaparte knew nothing of him until his return from Elba, where it appeared he had been a Private in his Guards, and from that reason was first induced to promote him. They expressed no regret at his departure.

Captain Wauchope and myself accompanied the Admiral this day (January 11th, 1817) to Longwood, after visiting Madame Bertrand where we stopped about half an hour, the Count came back for us, and we went into the Billiard Room. The Admiral then saw him alone for about 3 hours. Montholon and Gourgaud were left with us. During this Interview we heard Buonaparte often Laugh Loudly apparently in high Spirits. The two Frenchmen remarked that they had not for a Length of time heard B. Laugh, as we were then hearing him. He also spoke so loud, that with a little attention we might have heard what he said distinctly. On the Admiral's being about to retire, He mentioned Captain Wauchope and myself being in the next room, we were then introduced. He asked a few Questions of Captain Wauchope, what Ship he commanded, How old he was—Then Bowed to me, asked me how I was, and wished us all Good Morning.

His Conversation with the Admiral began about Lord Exmouth's Expedition against the Algerines, the Success of which we had just heard. He thought the Victory Brilliant, and that it would give éclât to

England, but the British Navy stood so high, they were not in want of it. He adhered to his former Opinion, that he expressed before Ld. Exmouth's success was known, (viz.) that it would have been better to have brought the Algerines to reason by the Blockading System, than by knocking down their Batteries, that it would only teach them to build them up on an improved plan. He said he saw no provision made against their Building more vessels, that although it would be some time before they could build large Ships, yet they would purchase small ones which were the most troublesome. We had agreed that they should not make any more Christian Slaves, but we had not stipulated that Prisoners were not to be made, and that in the latter situation, their treatment would be worse than in the former, for it was the Interest of a Man to treat his Slave well being his Property.

He then conversed about Egypt. He said he Landed there with thirty-one thousand Musquets, that his losses there were trifling, very few at the Battle of the Pyramids, at the Siege of Acre, he had Sixteen hundred killed, and about

four thousand wounded. About twenty-two thousand afterwards returned to France. He praised Sir Sydney Smith, and said he shewed much talent in making the Convention of El Arish, and much honour towards Kleber, For when he learnt that the treaty was not confirmed by the British Government he prevented him from giving up to the Turks the Citadel of Damietta. He said he thought the British Government did right in not confirming the Convention, and gave the Explanation—That General Kleber after his, B.'s, return to France was most desirous to evacuate Egypt, on any terms, as nothing more seemed likely to be done. To effect this, he wrote to the Directory, and represented his Army to be in a wretched state; that it was only twelve thousand strong, and that he had not the means of making a defence. Now the fact was he had twenty-two thousand

* According to Las Cases, the official returns of the whole of the loss of the Army was—

| | |
|---|---|
| Killed in Battle . . . | 3614 |
| Dead of Wounds . . . | 854 |
| „ by Accidents . . | 290 |
| „ different Illnesses . . | 2468 |
| Pestilential Fever . . . | 1689 |
| | 8915 |

This was up to 2 Mths. after B.'s return to France.

in good condition. This letter of Kleber's was intercepted and deceived the British Government. In the meantime Sir Sydney, who knew the true State of the French Army was anxious to conclude this Convention. Kleber was equally so, knowing that Sir Sydney having styled himself Commander-in-Chief & a Minister, when he was neither, that the act became Illegal, and that it was at the Option of the English Government to confirm it or not, (as they might judge best). Now as they believed the Intercepted letter, they would not confirm the Treaty. He was of Opinion that had Kleber lived, and Commanded the French Army instead of Menow,* Sir Ralph Abercromby (who he thought a Brave, and good Officer) would have had many more obstacles opposed to him, and the English would have had much more difficulty in forcing the French from Egypt, because Kleber was a more Able General than Menow whose talent lay in diplomacy. Kleber was a Brave and Clever Man.†

* Menow really did become a Mahometan & married one. Kleber & Dessaix both Perished the same day & about the same Hour (according to Las Cases) one at Cairo, by the hand of an Assassin & the other, by a Cannon Ball at Marengo.

† Had Kleber lived, he would have had the Army down from Cairo in nine days, and would have overwhelmed the

He said, If the French had kept possession of Egypt, sooner or later, we would have lost India for it could not have been conquered by the Red Sea.* The Commerce would have been drawn thither, He would have made even the India Company trade with him. Merchants were of the Country that gave them most profit. Those of London had frequently supplied him with Money. On His return from Elba he had several propositions, One from

English. He would have done it in seven, He would have been down on the Coast previous to the disembarkation. He had done so before when Sydney Smith and the Turks landed. Abercromby seeing such a force against him, would not have attempted to Land, or If he had his army would have been cut to pieces. If Kleber had been there he would have had 18,000 Men, with 100 Pieces of Artillery against Abercromby on the 21st. The French in the Action had only 4,500 Men. The English will never believe this never the less it was really the case.

* He had intended to make two Canals, one to the Nile at Cairo, & another from the Red Sea to the Mediterranean. He had had the Red Sea surveyed & found that the waters of it were 30 feet higher than the Mediterranean at high water; but only 24 at low water; that his plan was to have prevented any water coming into the canal from the Red Sea except at low water, which would be 24 ft. and that this in the course of a distance of 30 Leagues in its passage to the Mediterranean would have been of no consequence. Besides he intended to have had some sluices in the course of it. The Nile was lower 7 feet when at its lowest than the Red Sea, but was (I think) 14 feet higher than the sea at Suez during its inundation. The expence had been calculated to amount to probably 18 Millions of Francs, and two Years Labour.

a very rich House. He had their proposal with him, He was to repay them with Government funds, but it was to have been a secret how those funds were disposed of. The Admiral, as on a former occasion, observed that he hoped that one of these days we should see all these things published. B. Laughed. . . .

He had a Memoir which he could shew the Admiral on the subject of opening the *Ancient Canal* from *Suez to Cairo.* He thought it practicable and it was his intention to have done it. He had ascertained that the Nile at Cairo was nearly on a level with the Red Sea. He proposed effecting this by the waters of the Nile, the Embankments of which are 4 feet higher than the Red Sea.

He said the English should keep possession of Alexandria, instead of Malta, to prevent any Power getting to India. We had sent some troops to take Alexandria but they were too few in number, and went to fight at Rosetta, instead of remaining on the defensive. It is only, continued he, the weakness and ignorance of the Turks, that prevents your India Trade from being ruined, if any European Nation had possession of Egypt, it would be speedily effected,

and one day or another you will see Egypt destroy the East India Company.

He thought it for the Interest of England to keep the Grand Seignor in full power, so added he, it must be of France. The French, continued He, will never consent to the dismemberment of Turkey. At Tilsit in conversation with the Emperor Alexander, who was always very desirous of driving the Turks out of Europe he had *Bavard* with him, and talked as If he would consent. But as soon as he looked at a Map, he perceived it was not for the Interest of France to have Constantinople in the hands of the Russians and Austrians. When Moscow was Burnt, all the Greeks were enraged, their Religion drew them towards the Russians, and they would like their Dominion better than any other Power.

He spoke of General Paoli, whom he described as a fine Character, that he was strictly honourable to all parties, and neither betrayed France nor England, that he was always for his Country.

The Admiral asked if it was true, as has been reported, that He was offered a Commission in the English Army. He Replied—Je vous le dirai. Paoli was a

particular friend of my family, He urged me to enter into the English Service, as He had the Means of there procuring me a Commission, But I preferred the French, because I spoke their Language, was of their Religion, and understood their Manners, and I thought the Beginning of a Revolution was the time for a young Man. Paoli was angry with me, but I always respected him, and so did he me, for once he said, That Young Man will be one of the Antiques de Plutarch (It was a Compliment that had gratified him more than any that had since been paid him). He continued, The Beginning of my rise was at the Siege of Toulon, there were few officers in the *Artillery*,* in which I was then serving, who were Men of Science. A Number of Soldiers had been made Officers. It was known to the General that I had been educated at L'Ecole Militaire, and I was the sort of person he wanted he gave me the Command. I was successful, and gained reputation. I was fortunately in Paris just in time for the Revolution of the 13th Vendémiaire. I

* *Artillery* at Toulon. In Mr. Warden's Book he is made to command only ten pieces, instead of the whole, consisting of near 300 pieces.

then went to Italy, where I gained further Reputation, and then to Egypt, and returned to France at a Fortunate Moment. The Adl. here remarked that he was also fortunate in escaping the British Cruisers. He replied, Yes, I gave myself much credit for that. I had a bad sailing Ship and for thirty days we lost Ground, and were driven towards Alexandria, but I stood towards Cyprus against the wind, knowing it would change, and probably Blow strong. It did so, and I arrived safe at Ajaccio in Corsica, from whence I went to France. It was I that obliged Admiral Bruix to change His route and to make the Land sixty Miles to the Westward of Alexandria, by which Manœuvre we escaped Lord Nelson. He said, If Sir Sydney Smith had kept a Cruiser off the Port, He could not have got out, but he was then thinking of Diplomacy.

He spoke in praise of Sir G. Elliot (Ld. Minto) But said it was an act of folly wishing to join Corsica to our Dominions. He thought Mr. North a Clever Man, he was Secretary to Sir G. Elliot. He said that when he landed from Elba, the French troops shewed the most exact discipline, that they always came over to him

in bodies. He continued I will relate some anecdotes to prove that I was liked by the Soldiers, and that they were devoted to me, and it was in consequence of that, more than any premeditated insurrection, and my also knowing the French Character, that I succeeded so well in getting to Paris. He said that in one instance a Corps, by orders from the Officers, presented Arms against him, that he rode up to them and exclaimed, Who ordered you to present Arms, are you going to fire at your Emperor, who has so often led you to victory? I then, continued He, called to some whom I saw by a Bridge, and who had served with me, And you old soldiers do you wish to kill your Emperor? See if we do, said they, and immediately put their Ramrods into their Musquets to shew that they were not loaded.

On appearing before Grenoble, The General (Marchand) Commanding, and also many of the Officers were loyal to the King. They had closed the Gates. I went up to them amidst the cries of Vive L'Empereur, Yet there appeared no disposition on the part of the troops to open them. I spoke to them, and asked the use of these cries, If they did not open

the Gates. They said we are not commanded. I turned to General Bertrand, and ordered him to call out the Emperor has destitué The General Marchand, and it is his orders that you open the Gates. The troops were struck with this, & said *Voilà une autre chose.* The General is dismissed. Open the Gates. It is the Emperor's Orders. The next day I reviewed some of the Regiments, and reprimanded one severely for not having their accoutrements in better order. He related an anecdote of Colonel Moncey, the son of the Marshal, who commanded a Regiment, and whose conduct he considered highly honourable. He said that the Colonel wrote to him to say that although he owed him much, yet as he had sworn to be faithful to the King, He was determined not to violate his Oath, but to do his duty. He was amongst the few that preserved his Regiment together for a considerable time. B. afterwards sent for him, and said, The French Nation have chosen me again for their Ruler, You have been faithful to the King, but you see there is no longer anything to be done for his cause, you had better serve me, I continue you in the Command of your Regiment.

Speaking of Marshal Soult; He said, I know he was faithful to the King, yet all his acts had so much the appearance of being in my favour, that it was only myself could know that they were not done with that Intention. B. then mentioned that several Corps, the most attached to him, were placed in the South of France, and there were no troops on which the Bourbons could rely, The Admi. asked Why this was done, if Soult was faithful? He replied, because he looked on me as dead to France, and did not calculate on my return, He thought that had he pursued the plan, that was supposed, that of landing in Italy, Soult would have done his duty.

The Admiral spoke of Marshal Ney. He answered, *C'est une autre chose*, Ney was a hero in the field, but not clever in other Respects, and by his manner clearly showed that he had committed himself towards the Bourbons, His conduct on the whole was Bad.*

He now spoke of the Bourbons, That the King was a well-disposed man, but that there was a Party that he could not

* Ney did not make use of haughty language in 1814, at Fontainbleau, as Reported. He was always submissive in his presence.

keep in order, who would Bouleversé France. The Party had become Popular altho' not numerous. The Prefets had been allowed just at the return of the Bourbons, to fill up the numbers of the Electors, they thought it would please, if the most violent Royalists were put in, & now they wish that the Moderates had been placed in their stead, but it is too late, even the Government cannot control them. The allies cannot be pleased to see them the majority.

He said, He thought the Duke of Orléans the Only one of the Bourbons, that could settle France. He had fought for the Revolution, had never drawn his sword against Frenchmen, & he had made himself popular by wearing the Legion of Honour, and never that Order of St. Ésprit on great occasions. This, he observed, was apparently a trifle, but apparent trifles are great things at times in France: Reason nothing.

He said that the Comte D'Artois, when he arrived at Lyons with Macdonald, had acted very Impolitic. He appeared before the Army wearing the Order of St. Ésprit, which all those that have been born since the Revolution Hate, because by the Institution they never can obtain

it, however great their merit may be, as it requires four generations of Nobility of Blood. He had also twelve Officers on his Staff, not one of whom had fought with, but against them, not one bore the Legion of Honour. This was remarked to Macdonald who said it should be changed.

The Admiral asked, If he thought it prudent of the Bourbons to continue the Legion of Honour. He replied, He thought Not. That had he been in Louis' situation, he would have *ecraséé* it immediately, for, continued he, it will always call me to remembrance, but as they have continued it they should not vilify me, they should praise me for what I did, that brought Glory to France. I was always the first to speak of the great deeds of Henry the Fourth. I will tell you what will happen, when I am personally out of the Question, in Thirty Years. The Government will be obliged to yield to public opinion, and raise a Monument to me for the glory of the Nation. It is what your Regent has done in Italy to the descendant of a Stuart. The Adml. replied, Yes, but it was to the last of that family.

He spoke of the Americans, He smiled

at the Idea of their wishing to have the Island of Lampedosa from the Neapolitans, in part payment of a debt, and said, What fools there are in the World, that People who may do as they please on half the Globe, should wish to have a little bad Island, that will embroil them constantly with the European Princes, and which with their small Navy they would lose in the first war. These People's Heads are turned,' said he, by their accidental success, which they attribute to their superior power and knowledge.

He spoke of the Harbour of Lampedosa. The Adl. said, You wished us to have it instead of Malta. He laughed, and said, At the Peace of Amiens, Yes!! Lord Nelson thought it a good Harbour.

He thought England would be much better without Canada. He said, It kept her in a prepared state for War, at a great Expense, and kept up constant irritation, but it is, said He, A point of honour not to give it up.

The Adml. mentioned that he thought it Impolitic of Louis making the Infant children of Marshals Lasnes and Bessières, Peers, and that he concluded the Motive was, that they would have very large for-

tunes, and that it was desirable such people should be Peers. B. replied that the probable reason was that at the time Ministers thought the King had the intention of restoring the Property of the Emigrants, and that by doing this, The King considered it would furnish an additional Proof that such was not in his thoughts, for it would be said, He has made these two Infants Peers, who cannot be of any use to him until they are of age, and their properties are those of Emigrants.

In speaking of England, he added, I have always admired the English Character, for they have one, all Islanders have, even the Inhabitants of St. Helena are angry if you find fault with their Isle. In this the Admiral agreed.

The Admiral asked him, how he became acquainted with the state of France, when he was in Egypt. He replied that the Gazettes which had been landed by the English Cruisers first gave him that Information.

* He asked, and seemed anxious to

* The Ship's Name was 'The Vengeur,' about 200 of her Men were saved by the Boats of the English. This Report however was spread, & the Republic provided for his (Capt.) family. He therefore thought it best not to undeceive them, but to remain in England, as in those times had he returned, he might in the end have been put to Death.

know, If it was true, that on the 1st of June (Ld. Howe's action) a French 74 went down, with her colours flying, refusing assistance. Admiral told him not, that her Captain behaved nobly, but struck, on finding her in a sinking state, that many were saved, and that her Captain lived in England several years afterwards. He said he had heard so too.

The Admiral particularly remarked this day that in his description of various events he made use of the Strongest Expressions, and that he was not very nice in the terms he used. He generally keeps his cocked hat in his hand but this day when he was energetic, he often laid it down, and took it up again. He this day, and has before said, on the Admiral observing that particular plans of his had not succeeded, J'étais trompée.

January 31st, 1817.—I accompanied the Admiral and Lady M. to Longwood after visiting Madame Bertrand, B. sent to say he was ready, and we all went to the Billiard Room when the Admiral and Lady M. were shewn into the next apartment, as before with Montholon and Gourgaud. They remained nearly three hours with him, when they retired. He observed me in the Billiard

Room, and came forward and said Comment se va Le Capitaine M. comment va votre Newcastle? (He) asked me if there was not a great deal of surf on the Beach, and what was the Reason. If it was not produced by Northly Winds, made some general remarks to the Admiral about the Weather when we all retired.

On seeing Lady M. he began by asking If she had enjoyed good health since he had last seen her, She had made a long voyage, and he thought she must now have learnt enough to qualify her for a Midshipman. He then asked them to sit down. He had heard that Lady M. had dined at Sandy Bay at Mr. Dovetons (which is the prettiest place on the Island). He asked Ldy. M. if she thought this Island like Scotland? She replied she thought some parts were. He then began a long discussion on the Politics of Europe.

He asked the Admiral If it was true that he was going home. The Admiral replied that he did not know it Officially, but thought it probable, and observed that he only came out on the promise that he should not stay long, that he was desirous of remaining some time at home, now that we had Peace. B. said 10 years was the

utmost we could be at Peace. He had seen by the Newspapers lately arrived, that great discontents existed in England, He believed there were in every part of Europe, Europe was like a smothered volcano.

He thought it impossible we could go on with such a great expense as we were now at. He could not see the end of it, We might in part pay the National debt by saving the Revenues of the Clergy, (on observing Lady M. shake her head at this) He laughed, and asked if she was a Puritan? She answered she was Church of England, the Admiral, Presbyterian. Then said he to Lady M., Do you think his soul will be damned? She answered such were not our tenets, & answered several Questions he put to her, as to the Ornaments in our Churches, whether we had flowers, Candlesticks and incense. The latter he liked it, it made the church smell sweet.

He asked the Admiral several Questions about the Scottish Church, who explained that the two Churches differed only in Civil forms. B. approved of the manner of paying the Clergy in Scotland, instead of Tithes.

He asked the Admiral and Lady M.,

If they did not often see the French Commissioner Montchenu. He said Montchenu would lose much when they went away. He was told the Baroness Sturmer was pretty. Lady M. replied, she thought her not so much so as she had been, she had lately grown so fat. Then, Quoth he, she will have no Children.

Lady M. remarked that If he had remained on the Throne of France He never would have liked the English. Pardon me, Said He, On the Contrary I did not dislike the English, I had always the highest opinion of the English Character,* and as a Proof I trusted to it, and was duped, other wise I should not have been here, If I had not preferred coming to you, I could have gone to my Father-in-law, and have had one of his Palaces to live in.

He said that he believed in England, we had as many, if not more Honourable Men as any other Country, but that we had also a great many very bad, we were in the extremes.

* He thought that there was more Nationality, more public Spirit and attachment in England than in France, but to form a correct judgment of the two Nations, it would be necessary to see them both immediately subsequent to a Revolution.

He spoke highly of Lord Cornwallis, he thought him a man of great honor. He said it was easy to know when a Government wished for Peace by Observing the Character of the Person sent to treat for it.

* He said that when the Treaty of Amiens was ready, it was late in the Evening, that it was necessary for the *Plenipotentiaries* to go to the Hôtel de Ville to sign it (that being a neutral place) that *They* were tired, and mutually agreed to defer going until the next morning, but to consider it signed. In the Night a Courier arrived from London with dispatches that might have occasioned further discussion. Mr. Merry the Secretary urged Lord C. very much to make some further proposals, but that Lord Cornwallis Replied, My word is pledged and I will sign the Treaty as it is. It depends on my Government afterwards to ratify it or not as they please.

He spoke also of Lord Whitworth, and the Duchess of Dorset, The latter he had understood was not much esteemed in England. When they were at Paris, he was in the habit of giving dinners of 50

* He proposed to destroy Algiers, but our Ministers would not consent to a united Expedition.

Covers, many English were at the Parties, and used to be very angry because she never came in time. This is a thing the French were very particular about.

Lord Whitworth was a man of sang froid, but he mistated a conversation he had with him. The Adl. asked if it was the one that he had at his Levée. He said, No, that it was a private one that he had with him, for that everybody had heard the other.

He did not like Lord Lauderdale. He did not think him a Man of Talent, not a *Moral man.*

He thought Mr. Fox a most honourable, good Man, he had seen him with pleasure. In his journey through France Mr. Fox had been every where received well, in many places with Fêtes. He then dwelt on what has been frequently stated, that he thought the death of Mr. Fox a Misfortune to Both Countries. That if he had lived, he would have made Peace. He said Lord Lauderdale's conduct had altered immediately on the news of his death.

He then spoke of Mr. Drake, Jackson, & Rumbold not in the most flattering terms, he thought Mr. Jackson a Charlatan.

On speaking of the scarcity of Corn in France, He said we had humbled the vanity of the French, that they were a vain nation, and would rather have their vanity gratified than their hunger allayed.

On the subject of the Bourbons, he said, It was Impossible to force a great nation contrary to its Opinion, we were trying to do so by supporting them.

He had put an end to the French Revolution but the Allies were renewing it by placing Louis on the Throne contrary to the Opinion of the People.

He continued, The System I pursued in Spain was contrary to the Opinion of the Nation, and therefore I failed.* Ferdinand is right in his present system. The Spaniards like their Priests, their Bigotry, and their ancient usages. Ferdinand's Confessor once more told me, Why do you wish us to change, We like our *present Modes*, and so ought you, for we shall never be a powerful Nation while they are followed.

* Of the opposition that had been made to the continuation of the Property Tax in England and of the Proceedings of the Livery of London. He said it was a bad thing to force the will of the People, that it had caused the failure of his War in Spain.

He would not admit as the Adl. advanced, that there was any party in France, in favour of Louis. On the contrary he affirmed that they would have dethroned Louis, tho' he had never left Elba. The Bourbons, said he, never can be secure till they restore the French Glory, at Present the Nation feel themselves humbled, and their King is the cause. He came to France on the Shoulders of Wellington, treading over the dead bodies of Frenchmen.

He thought it Impolitic taking away the Pictures &c. from the Louvre, It was making the King unpopular.

Had he, B., been allowed to remain in France, it might have been politic to have humbled him, and the French Nation as much as possible, but that measure under Louis could only serve to

* He said, Suppose a King was forced on you in England by foreign bayonets, How would you like it? Louis only reigns under the Duke of Wellington. There is no leader of the French Nation, time will show whether there is a Party in his Favour.

He thought it not Politic levying contributions in France, that the Nation hated it, that it would have been much better to have taken territory at once. That at first, it would have created a strong sensation, which would have died away, but that now the Indignation of the People was kept up by the other measure.

inflame the minds of the People more against him.

He spoke of the Policy of the Peace we had made. He thought we had not profited sufficiently by it.

He said, England has not done herself Justice at the Peace. The King of the Netherlands owes His Country to you, so does Spain, and Portugal, and as these Countries could not indemnify you with money, you ought to have made them grant you an exclusive Charter to trade with them, and their Colonies, for five or even ten years, to repay you for the sums you have expended on their account, This would have been just, The other Allied Powers could not have dissented.

Of the Abilities of the Duke of Wellington, he remarked, that it would one day be of bad consequence to the English Nation, who would expect more from their Army than they had capacity for, when not guided by superior knowledge.

He said that If the War with England had lasted two or three years longer, that France would not have had any further occasion for Colonies, as he had already caused to be made in France (by the great encouragement he gave) Sugar from the

Beet Root. On the Adf. remarking that the Specimens he had seen were not good, He replied that until very lately, the Chymists had only discovered the Method of Chrystallizing it which made it equal to the Sugar from the Cane. He said that they would have done in lieu of Coffee, with Leaves of Herbs as Tea, & would have been contented with it, and that indeed he would have been able to have grown Coffee in some parts of France; that from Grain an inferior kind of Coffee might have been Prepared.

He said that his Chymists had also discovered how to make Indigo, that it had been known long since, but that they did not understand extracting some ingredients that spoiled it, but now they did. He had established a Manufactory, which was in a Flourishing State. He had also established an Academy for 50 youths to study Chymistry, He believed

* He had succeeded in getting Sugar for 13 sous the Pound, and when the Process of making it had been a little more Matured, Sugar would have been made in France almost as cheap as it could have been Imported from the West Indies.

N.B.—All the Licenses which had been granted for the Importation of Colonial Produce into Europe during the war had been signed by himself. He regulated everything respecting this, personally.

we had a few as good Chymists in England as in France, but that in France the science was now general, that it might be considered that Chymistry had made Revolution in Commerce, like that which the discovery of the Passage to the Cape of Good Hope had done.

March 7th, 1817.—The Admiral went alone to Longwood, and conversed about half an hour on various subjects. B. asked if the Commissioners had received letters by the Store Ship? The Adl. replied in the Affirmative. Will they then see me as Individuals? I shall be glad to see them, but not as Commissioners, because that would be acknowledging myself a prisoner to their Masters. The Adl. remarked that he did not know they had ever requested to see him as Individuals. He replied that the Russian had no objection, He could see that by the manner of wording the letter that was sent to him.

He then entered into a discussion on the late Restrictions, to which the Admiral observed that the Parts he complained of had been changed, and that he was certain the Governor had every disposition to render his Situation as agreeable as the Instructions from Government would admit.

Instructions, said he, from Ministers are like a sword that cuts two ways, and you may use it as you please. He would not allow that the desire of the Governor was such as the Adl. stated. He said that previous to the sailing of the Orontes, He was preparing a Paper to send to the Prince Regent, but stopped on account of a proposition made thro' Dr. O'Meara that the Admiral should mediate an arrangement to obviate what was found so disagreeable in their situation. That he had agreed to this, But, said He, this he has not done.

The Admiral told him that he certainly had not been spoken to on the subject, but that he concluded that the reason was, that the G. was desirous to know the sentiments of Ministry on the subjects that had caused the restrictions, before he took further steps in the Affair.

B. said Sir H. does not know my Character, I am a Man that can live Tranquilly provided that I am treated with some regard, I think I have a claim to that. He said the G. has never seen me except when I was irritated and spoke Bêtises.

The Adl. said that he did hope that ere long they would be on better terms,

and remarked that the G. was a Man of considerable attainments, and well acquainted with the History of the late eventful Period, & that he felt confident that Both would find much satisfaction in a free intercourse. B. replied, It is for Sir. H. to bring it about, He can do much for me, I cannot do anything for him. The Adl. again pointed out that these misunderstandings had certainly arisen from People about him.

Captains Stanfell and Festing accompanied the Admiral and Lady Malcolm this day (March 25th, 1817) to Longwood. After stopping a short time with Made. Bertrand, a servant came to the Admiral and they all walked on to the House. General Bertrand was there, and ushered them into the Billiard room where B. was. He advanced to meet Lady M. and after asking if she always continued to enjoy good health, He spoke to the Admiral, who replied to His Compliments, and then introduced Captain Stanfell. B. remarked he had never seen him before, asked If he was Married & had Children, the name of his Ship, His destination, and on hearing that he had just arrived from the Cape of Good Hope, He asked If Captain Stanfell

had seen the Comte Las Cases, and whether He was not at liberty. Captain S. replied that he was living at Newlands, (the seat of the Governor Ld. C. Somerset) that he had called upon him, but had not seen him, that he had seen his son.

The Admiral observed that the Health of young Las Cases was considerably improved from the Prescription of a wonderful young Physician, describing Dr. Barry. B. observed that a similar Medical Phenomenon had appeared in France, named Bichât, that he died at the early age of twenty-eight, which was a great misfortune, for had he lived he was expected to have made great additions to medical knowledge.

Tho' Captain Festing's former interview had been so short, B. appeared to recollect him. He asked him also, If he was married, and on his answering No, He said in English, *then you are Boy*. Bertrand observed that was not the right word, that he meant Bachelor. On which B. repeated, *Bashler*.

He asked various Questions about Scotland, he said it was a poorer country than England. The Admiral allowed that, and added that it had been much enriched by the numbers of Scotchmen who had made

fortunes in the Colonies, & returned and settled in their native place. Yes, said he, Mountaineers always love their country, and turning to Lady M. asked If she was a Mountaineer.

He could not understand about Scotch Peers being made English Peers. The Adl. explained it to him, and that since the Union there had been no Scotch Peers created, nor in fact English Peers, that they were now British Peers.

He then asked Lady M., If her Uncle Lord Keith was not a Scotch Peer, and if Lord Melville was not also? He knew his name was Dundas, he asked the Adl. if Lady M. was of an ancient family who replied No, they sprung from the Law.

He asked which were the great families in Scotland, Whether the Douglas was not one of the greatest? The Adl. replied Yes, and named the Campbells and some others. He seemed anxious to understand the different degrees of English Nobility, and asked If they did not usually take their titles from their Estates? He spoke of the titles of Wellington and Nelson and asked who Nelson's title had gone to?

He asked Lady M. if she had been at the Play lately performed in the Valley

(The Rivals) he knew it was a play of Sheridan's, with whose talents he seemed to be acquainted.

He spoke of the difficulty of a person not conversant with a Language reading Poetry. He said he could read English Newspapers sufficiently to be amused by them, but he should never speak the Language for he could not pronounce it, nor could he read Poetry, He had tried Milton, but could not make it out. Did we not consider him our greatest Poet? He was an Infernal Poet. The Adl. said, And a Celestial one too, for he had written of Heaven as well as of Hell. He then asked if Milton was not one of the Regicides who voted for the death of Charles the 1st? The Adl. said, he had not voted for the King's death but after it had taken place he wrote in defence of it, and Cromwell in consequence employed him as Secretary. He appeared curious to ascertain whether or not he had been a Regicide, and twice asked the Admiral, if he was certain he was not, advancing close to him.

He asked if the English Language like the French, was not much altered since the days of Shakespeare, and If his plays had not been modernised that they might now

be understood, If Dryden and Addison had not made a change in the English Language.

He asked if we had not now a Poet named Byron. The Adl. answered Lord Byron's poetry was much admired, and that we had several others. Yes, said he in Scotland, but the climate is too damp for Poetry. Italian Poetry he said was very fine, but their prose bad; that it was very difficult for a Person not well acquainted with the Language to read Italian poetry, for they cut their words.

He asked when the Conqueror was expected, & what was the class of ship, if larger than the Northumberland, which he observed was from a French Model. The Adl. replied that she was built after the Impetueux which had been the *Amerique*. B. then asked, If the Tonnant was the ship of that name taken at the Nile, and If she had suffered much in that action. The Adl. referred to Captain Festing who had seen her after the action and then told him she had suffered very considerably. He asked what name we had given the Guillaume Tell. The Adl. answered the Malta, and that Le Franklin was now called the Canopus. B. said they were both of the same class and fine Ships.

He enquired what sort of Transports we used to carry Cavalry. The Admiral answered small ones that took between 30 and 40 Horses, seldom so many as 50.

He then asked (and it seemed by his manner, not to be a chance Question, but one that he had recollected to ask) How many Regiments had come from America to Ostend. The Admiral said six or seven, but that they were not all in the Battle of Waterloo, some were at Ghent and some at Brussels.

B. turned to Lady M., and said you play at Chess. She answered, Very little, but on the Admiral saying she did, He ordered the Chess Table, which was placed in the drawing room. Hitherto they had remained in the Billiard Room, in which, besides Bonaparte and General Bertrand, there were the Count & Countess de Montholon & General Gourgaud; Bertrand formed a part of the circle with them, and sometimes put in a word, but Generals Montholon & Gourgaud stood behind on each side of the Billiard Table, and never Articulated except when Bonaparte addressed them.*

* Madame de Montholon came round the Table near Lady M. & when B. who moved about, as he talked, turned his back, she whispered to Lady M. If she was tired, she might sit down. She however preferred standing, the better to hear what he said.

When the Chess table was ready, B. walked into the drawing Room, Lady M. following. He placed himself on a sofa and pointing to a chair opposite to him said, Allons Madame, (Madame de Montholon sat on a Chair near them). The Gentlemen stood round the table looking on. B. took the White Men, Lady M. the Red. He desired Lady M. to take the move, He played very Quick, talking to those around, and sometimes made bad, and even false moves, of which both General Bertrand and General de Montholon told him. They also noticed a bad move she made, which he bid her take back, Lady M. won the Game, at which he laughed and said, they must try another Game. He again desired Lady M. to take the first move. He soon exposed his Queen, and as she could change with advantage she did so. He noticed that she seemed fond of Castling, and on her moving a piece which defeated his attack, he said, Very well defended. He won, and immediately rose saying, The other Room is cooler, and walked back, He observed to the Admiral that he did not reckon himself a good Chess Player, that he merely played to amuse himself sometimes.

In general the Rooms at Longwood are darkened with Green Blinds or Curtains, on returning to the Billiard Room, he ordered the Blinds to be drawn up, the Sun was shining bright, and the view of the Green, and the trees at the back of the House appeared rather less sombre than usual. B. took out a small glass like an Opera one from his waistcoat Pocket, and looked towards the Sea, and then towards the entrance of his house. He observed the Griffin moving to Windward of the Island, He asked the Admiral, If it was his Cruiser.

He then spoke of the Number of India Ships, and Passengers that came here, of the usual length of the voyage the China Ships made, their size and how many Men they had.

On speaking of the Harbours in France, the Admiral observed that he had been much in Duarnenez Bay. B. laughed, and said He had ordered Mortars that would throw shells an immense distance, to be placed on the heights at the entrance of Duarnenez Bay, as he had done to keep Pellew out of Hières Bay.

He then asked what o'clock it was & on hearing it was five, He continued to talk to the Admiral of different English

diplomatick Characters, with Praise again of Lord Cornwallis (whom he termed a *Brave Homme*). He also spoke with approbation of Lords St. Helens, Malmesbury, and Whitworth, but not your Drakes, Rumbolds, Mackenzies, and Jacksons, such Gentlemen as these were not to be depended on.

B. asked, If Scotchmen did not drink very hard, and turning to Lady M. said they never got up from table. Both the Admiral and Lady M. said that had formerly been too much the case, but that they were now much improved in that respect, and hard drinking was happily no longer the fashion in Scotland. B. then said it had been the fashion when the P. Regent was young, he seldom got up from the table, he often sat till he fell under it, (pointing down below the Billiard Table). Was it not so? The Admiral answered that these stories were always much exaggerated. B. Laughed, and said it was true. He touched the sleeve of Lady M.'s Pelisse and asked If it was English silk. She told him it was Chinese, she had got it at St. Helena. But how did you get it made, said he? Pointing to the trimming, there are no Marchands des modes here. She Replied,

there was one, and Made. de Montholon named her (Mrs. Beaumont). He asked if the silks made in England were as good as those made in France. Lady M. replied, Not quite. He said he believed the Lyons silks were the finest in the world. Soon after this, he wished all the Party good morning.

He observed to the Admiral that his war with Russia was undertaken because Alexander had not fulfilled one of the Treaties of Tilsit, and that he wished also to establish solidly the kingdom of Poland, as a barrier against the Russians, for that sooner or later, they would overrun Europe. The Adl. asked, Why he did not stop in Poland? He replied, because I could have dictated from Moscow the terms of Peace, but the Russians burnt Moscow & ruined me. The Adl. then asked why he did not go to Petersburgh instead of Moscow. He answered because he could have had no Magazines in that direction to subsist his Army, that round Moscow it was a fine Country, with abundance of grain.

In a conversation before this, B. observed that it was true as stated in the Newspapers, that the Belgians were sorry that the English had gained the Battle of

Waterloo, they considered themselves Frenchmen, and were such. The greatest part of the Nation liked him, and wished for his success. The stories that our Ministers took such pains to circulate respecting the Nations united to France hating him, and detesting his tyranny were all false. The Belgians, Italians, Piedmontese, and others were examples of this. The English that have travelled, said he, will confirm this. Millions now weep for me. The Piedmontese preferred being a province of France, to being an independent Kingdom under that King of Sardinia.

He spoke also of Lord Grenville, whom he considered at present, as the greatest Statesman in England.

May 3rd, 1817.—The Admiral went to Longwood alone. B. spoke of the Nobility of England, that they were only the chiefs of the Populace, but that in France the Old Nobility were the Masters of the Populace, and that they made very bad Masters. They were in general, Vain Ignorant People. For example, said he, Gourgaud had a few minutes conversation with Montchenu at the Races the other day, and he began to tell him of what an Ancient, and noble family he was descended from.

He said Our Expedition to Copenhagen was not a measure of great policy, It would have been if we had kept possession of it, but He did not want Ships, he had more at Antwerp than he could Man, and much better ones than the Danish, it was Men he wanted.

He spoke of our taking the Spanish Frigates before the War, and said the sum of Money we got was of very great National Importance. That the measure hastened the war, which he had been using his endeavours to produce between England and Spain. That the loss of the Money was of no consequence to him; He never got any Specie from Spain, but he got Bills on Vera Cruz, which he sent to London, where they were negociated, and by that Channel he got money for them. That the Money for them found its way to Jamaica, and then to England, so that the three Nations had all a little to do with it, and all got a little. He spoke of my Illness, and said I should get over it, If there was nothing the matter with my lungs.

He asked, If we were going to interfere with the Disturbance in Spanish America. He said we should favour underhand the

Separation of the Mother Country. That no matter how kind, or how well England treated Spain, or how ill France behaved to her, That as long as Spain retained her Colonies, she would be jealous of England, from the fear that her Commerce would be destroyed by our Navy. She would be jealous of England, and the friend of France, but once separate her from her Colonies, she would become a warlike Nation on the back of France, and league with England against France.

June 19th, 1817.—The Admiral and Lady M. went up to Longwood accompanied by Captains Jones & Wright, after receiving them in the usual way, He conversed a short time on indifferent subjects, and went into the next Room, taking the Admiral and Lady M. with him.

He took notice of Lady M.'s gown, and asked her, If it was of Scotch Manufacture. She replied in the Affirmative. He said, that is right, we should all wear the Manufactures of our own Countries.

He observed that by the Newspapers brought out by the Store Ships, he had seen Lord Bathurst's Speech, (in reply to Lord Holland's) that there were several falsehoods in it, and that he did not think

he could be in possession of the Governor's Restrictions with his Notes upon them, that if Ld. B. was, the Falsehoods were wilful. The Admiral replied he was sure he had. He said he was preparing an answer to this Speech, as it appeared in the Morning Chronicle, the first part of which he had finished, and offered to read it to the Admiral, who immediately objected to this, and said he was not authorized to enquire into any of his Complaints, and observed he ought not to believe all the Papers said, that they made many mistakes in reporting Speeches, and that some stated Lord B.'s Speech differently.

B. said he was aware of these mistakes, but that they generally agreed in substance.

He shewed Lady M. a Bust of the King of Rome lately brought to him, Lady M. admired the fine Curly hair on it, and said the Bust was like him. B. said it was invaluable to him, that the lower part of the face resembled him, and the upper, the Empress, that an Artist in Leghorn had made two, one for the Empress, and another for him. He said that he had heard that Sir T. R—— had told the Captain of the Ship, that brought it out, that he ought to have

thrown it overboard, and said to Lady M. was not this barbarous?

Lady M. replied that it was so barbarous, that she could not conceive Sir T. capable of having said so. The Admiral said the same. B. said, I know he did say so, for he mentioned it in the presence of several Officers. He said that he was preparing a letter on the subject, but the Captain of the Ship came up to Longwood and told Bertrand that Sir T. R—— had never said so.

He complained of the declining state of his health, and on the Admiral remarking that he was looking well, Bah! said he, my bodily health is good, I have a strong Constitution but my mental powers are failing fast.*

He shewed Lady M. a *Cup and Saucer* † (One of a set made at Sévres, and presented to him on the day of his Marriage with Maria Louisa) and said, it was a gift for her, and after she had admired it, and thanked him for it, He smiled, and said that he would not give the Admiral any present,

* He has said he thought they would not last 2 years.

† There is a Landscape painted on the Cup representing a view of Cleopatra's Needle, beautifully executed on the Saucer is the head of a Mameluke.

that he would not listen to reason, that he was too much of an Englishman to believe that the G. or that any of his Countrymen could do wrong; that Ladies had more compassion for People in misfortune than Men. Lady M. answered, for People who had been distinguished.

He then exclaimed, I have worn the Imperial Crown of France, The Iron Crown of Italy, But the English have done more for me than them, They have given me a more glorious one, that which was worn by the Saviour of the World, A Crown of Thorns. Every Insult and oppression offered to me, by the English adds to my Fame, & I want nothing more to complete my renown, but to bear my Misfortunes with firmness.

He spoke of Italy. He said that Italy was longing for a Constitution, and so were Many of the German States, that the Emperor of Austria was afraid to crown himself King of Italy, that when he travelled through the Country He mistook the Applause he met with, that it was intended for his daughter, B's Wife, who was travelling with him.

He spoke of Prince Leopold, and the Princess Charlotte, that once the Prince was

going to be his Aide-de-Camp, that he was a fine Young Man with an Excellent Character.

He remarked upon reading Mr. Warden's Book, that Mr. W. was a man of great vanity, and that it displayed much Egotism, and self consequence. That it was full of Misrepresentations, and that it made him say a thousand bêtises, that never came out of his Mouth, and speak long Orations that he never heard before.

Mr. Irving, The Adl.'s Secretary, went up to Longwood this afternoon (2nd July, 1817). Dr. O'Meara told B. that he was there, on which he desired him to shew Mr. Irving in. He was in the Billiard Room with Bertrand, looking at some books. He first asked him how he did, and how the Admiral & Lady Malcolm were, then pointing to the Books on the billiard table, and naming Robertson's Charles the 5th, Leigh's narrative of a Journey in Egypt above the Cataracts, and a Translation of Lopez de Vega, by Lord Holland, He desired him to look at them, and said that he had just received them by the Conqueror, from the Duke of Bedford and Lord Holland, and that If Mr. Irving saw them he was desirous they should be informed he was very much

obliged to them for the Books, and also to mention that he had seen him (B.) reading them. He said that he supposed it was the Duchess of Bedford, who had sent those, that were said to have come from the Duke, that he had seen her several times in Paris, when she was Lady Georgiana Gordon, and that she was very fond of dancing.

He asked if the Admiral was coming up before he left the Island and where Admiral Plampin was.

At times he coughed a good deal, and immediately after a severe fit of coughing, He looked up in Mr. I's face, and said You must tell the People in London, that this is the Inquisition, and that I want nothing but the Hat, to make me a Dominican Friar. In saying this, he laughed. Mr. Irving said, that he hoped his situation would in time be Improved, upon which his Countenance assumed rather an angry appearance, and he said in a louder tone than he had spoken before—Bah! never while this Governor is here. They should send the Admiral out to govern the Island, He is much of an Englishman.

He then asked Mr. Irving, If he was a Scotchman, whether he was married, and what he was going to do when he got

home. Mr. I. replied that he probably would remain on shore, till another War, and then perhaps go to sea again with Admiral Hotham. Ah! said he, I met you with him in the Bellerophon, and Superb. I see he is lately married, Where does he reside? Mr. I. replied, London. He then said, it is time for you to get married also, I wish you a good voyage, and hope you will find all your friends in England well.

Mr. Irving had not seen B. since the 20th of June 1816. At that time he had observed an Alteration in B's appearance for the worse, since he had seen him in the Bellerophon & Superb, and at the present period he certainly thought him very considerably altered, also for the worse, and his appearance altogether struck Mr. Irving to be that of a Man declining fast.

Mr. I told Dr. O'Meara what he thought of him, who answered that from seeing him every day, he was unable to perceive the change so readily as a stranger did, but that he knew he was materially altered since he embarked in the Bellerophon, and he could answer for his health being much impaired latterly, which he attributed to his want of exercise, and that he would not be per-

suaded to take any, under the restrictions at present imposed on him.

Bonaparte remained after his first arrival at St. Helena nearly two Months at the Briars, A Cottage belonging to Mr. Balcombe, who has two daughters, Miss Jane & Betsy. The stories Circulated about the latter in the Newspapers are nearly all untrue.

Miss Betsy told me that B. occasionally in the Evening came and played a Rubber of Whist when the family was alone, that once, she caught him revoking, on which she told him that he must pay her a Napoleon. He replied No, No, you owe me a Pagoda, and I will not give you a Napoleon till you pay me the Pagoda. She said, that in the first conversation she had with him, He asked her the names of the Capitals of the different Countries in Europe, when he came to Russia, she said Petersburgh, but said he, What was the Ancient? She replied Moscow. Who burnt it? I don't know. Yes, you do, said he laughing, you know it was me.

The two Miss B's. asked him one day to let them look at some of his pretty things, which he promised to do. He accordingly a day or two afterwards sent for them at dinner, and after making them eat some

Bon Bons He shewed them the Miniatures of all his family, and several prints, in which [He] was represented, that two or three times he pointed at his own figure in the Print, and said, That's me. He then showed them a very handsome Sword, presented to him by the City of —— The Handle was set round with Jewels, the Scabbard, tortoise-shell, studded with Bees, which he remarked were the emblems of Industry. Miss Betsy asked permission to draw the Sword, which he gave her, she did so and pointing it to him said, Supposing I was to kill you. He laughed, & said you would not be so cruel, and called Miss Jane to come to his Assistance, Who did so, and took the Sword from Miss Betsey, since which when he sees them he calls Miss Jane, *His dear Miss Jane*, the Preserver of his life.

On his leaving the Briars for Longwood, He said he hoped they would often pay him a visit, which they occasionally do. The first time they went, He proposed some game of Play on which, Miss B. fixed on Blind Man's Buff. Miss B. was first Blinded, and after some little time, caught hold of somebody. B. said C'est Le Las Cases. Miss Betsy uncovered her eyes, and beheld that it was him B. she had caught, On

which she immediately insisted on his being blindfolded, which he submitted to, & she tied the Handkerchief round his eyes, after which she gave him a Blow on the Back, he soon became tired & pulled it off, and said to her, Pourquoi vous me frappez?

The last time they went to Longwood, He went to Miss Betsy, and took her by the ear, said she was a petite Espiègle, & also said Estes vous sage et qui est votre Amant.

The Party at Longwood speak of Talleyrand, as a great villain, a man who has betrayed all Parties on every side. Madame Talleyrand is a woman of *bad* Character, and had been banished from Court by Buonaparte on that account. The following anecdote current in Paris will display her ignorance.

Talleyrand had asked Denon to dinner one day. He said to Madame T——. My Dear, you must be very civil and polite to him, you must pay him every attention, and say something handsome to him about his Travels, because He may be useful to us with the Emperor.

Madame T. said she would, but being extremely ignorant, and never having read any other Travels probably than those of

Robinson Crusoe, she thought that Denon could be nobody else than Robinson. She therefore, before a large Company wishing according to Her Husband's Request to be very civil to him, and to pay every attention to Denon, began to ask him Divers Questions about his Man Friday. Denon astonished, did not know what to answer for a long time, but at last discovered by her Questions that she really imagined him to be Robinson Crusoe. The astonishment of him, and the company can scarcely be conceived, nor the Laughter, which it afterwards produced there, and through all Paris where it was everywhere spoke of.

The Duc D'Enghien.—In a conversation about Him, He said that he caused him to be put to death, because the Duke wanted to assassinate him (B.). That He had the trial of the laws of His Country, and that they condemned him. If he was condemned unjustly it was not B's fault, but that it was not so, that it was strictly according to the existing laws. We should change our minds about this in England. He also remarked that our opinion in England about him would be changed by the means of the English travellers themselves.

Warden's Book.—Heard that he had

made the following observations upon it, That whoever reads W's book will say that He is a coxcomb, a great egotist and eat up with vanity, that amongst other things the Doctor had said in his work, that he B. had never committed assassination or a crime without having some object in view, now he (B.) had never said this and he could declare that he never had committed either assassination or a crime *with or without* having any object in view, neither did He ever cause them to be committed by others, that he had not a single crime on his conscience to reproach himself with.

In a conversation it was remarked to him that it was Believed in England that B. aimed at universal Dominion and that his intentions were to annex England to France, that nothing less would have contented his ambition. B. replied, Why that as to annexing England to France upon mature deliberation, that He considered it Impossible, that to have united two nations so dissimilar in ideas would have been as difficult as to have brought together India and Europe, that he had no intention of that kind in his head. He then went on to say that had he succeeded in his descent upon England he would have made her a

republic and separated her from Ireland, that he would have made Both Republics and independent of each other and then left them to themselves, having first sown seeds of republicanism in their *Morale*, and established in each Island the republic form of government, that as to Commercial Dominion He had certainly aimed to render Himself and France the most powerful in the World but no further, that it was ever His Intention to have made Italy an independent kingdom, there were natural bounds for France which he did not intend to pass. It was His object to prevent England ever being able to go to war with France without assistance from some of the Continental Powers without which indeed she ought not to venture.

## OBSERVATIONS OF NAPOLEON

BUONAPARTE told the Admiral: The first time the Governor came to see me he told me he had orders to impose further restrictions; the second time, that he wished to replace Dr. O'Meara by Dr. Baxter, which I positively objected to; and you were present at the third interview. Was this the way to conciliate me?

PRINCE SWARTZENBERGH.—A man of no abilities—an ass; not fit to command a regiment.

THE ARCHDUKE CHARLES OF AUSTRIA.—By far the best Austrian General.

BLÜCHER.—A brave man, a good officer, nobody better to command at a charge, but not sufficient head for a general.

AUGEREAU.—A good general, but a great rascal and plunderer—a man of low family and no education.

MONTCHENU.—C'est un homme d'honneur, bon soldat, beaucoup de loyauté, mais pour dire franchement, ce n'est pas un homme amusant.

At Wagram he had caused the bodies of the

slain to be burnt, which he was desirous should be the end of his (own) body.

BATTLE OF MARENGO.—The chief cause of the loss of this battle by the Austrians was in consequence of a piece of folly that they had been guilty of, in sending about 20,000 men of the élite of their army three or four days before to attack (Lannes) with 15,000, who they hoped to find crossing a river. They arrived too late, were beaten there, and lost their best troops. Still, at Marengo, they were superior in number, and the French troops were raw recruits.

NEY.—Buonaparte thought him sincere in his professions to the king at the time he made them, and remained so till the 18th March, although he had denied to him that he was sincere in his promise to bring B. back in an iron cage. He asserted that he thought himself obliged to make use of hypocrisy to get rid of a hateful dynasty. B. thought his conduct afterwards shameful towards the king. After B.'s return from Elba, Ney was sent to examine all the strong places on the frontier. Ney, taking advantage of a moment when he was alone with him, said, in a confused manner, Has your Majesty heard it reported that I promised to the king to bring you to Paris in an iron cage? B. replied, No, I have not. Besides, I attach no importance to whatever may have been

said, written or done. Je sais qu'elle est l'influence des circonstances, and it is from other data that I appreciate true fidelity and the sentiments of men.

Speaking about the English Revolution and that of France, he remarked that there was a wide difference between them—that the former was one of religion, and operated powerfully in the hands of fanatics, it was also confined to a few; but that of France was one of the entire nation against the reigning family.

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